

Peace News

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FULL TEXT OF APPEAL

2,000 U.S. scientists say "End H-tests"

TWO thousand American scientists this week urged "immediate action" to obtain an "international agreement to stop the testing of all nuclear weapons."

The call was issued on the initiative of Dr. Linus Pauling, Nobel Prize winning chemist; Dr. Hermann J. Mueller, who discovered that radiation could cause hereditary changes in plants and animals; Dr. Laurence H. Snyder, President of the American Association for the Advancement of Science; Dr. Edward U. Condon, Past-President of the AAAS, and others.

The full text, reproduced from "I. F. Stone's Weekly" reads:

"We, the American scientists whose names are signed below, urge that an international agreement to stop the testing of nuclear bombs be made now.

"Each nuclear bomb test spreads an added burden of radio-active elements over every part of the world. Each added amount of radiation causes damage to the health of human beings all over the world and causes damage to the pool of human germ plasm such as to lead to an increase in the number of seriously defective children that will be born in future generations.

"So long as these weapons are in the hands of only three powers an agreement for their control is feasible. If testing continues, and the possession of these weapons spreads to additional governments, the danger of outbreak of a cataclysmic nuclear war through the reckless action of some irresponsible national leader will be greatly increased.

"An international agreement to stop the testing of nuclear bombs now could serve as a first step toward a more general disarmament and the ultimate effective abolition of nuclear weapons, averting the possibility of a nuclear war that would be a catastrophe to all humanity.

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PN is 21

ON the occasion of its twenty-first anniversary, we should like to express our appreciation of the service which Peace News is giving to the cause of peace, social justice and colonial liberty.

We hope that your influence will continue to extend and that Peace News will live to enjoy a fiftieth and a hundredth anniversary. By then many of the changes which you have advocated, often as pioneering reforms, will we believe, be realised. You will have contributed greatly to this achievement. We congratulate you and thank you.

Leslie Hale, Frank Allaun,
Emrys Hughes, Fenner Brockway,
George Thomas, George Craddock,
Victor Yates, Bob Edwards,
Reginald Sorensen
House of Commons, S.W.1.

Michael Scott —page 3
Michael Tippet —page 4
Birthday Messages —pages 6 and 7

Unarmed defence "I WANT A PUBLIC ENQUIRY NOW"

By IAN MIKARDO, MP

I HAVE just come back from flying right across the Soviet Union.

It took almost two days. For many thousands of miles I looked down on open country in which it's as far from one city to the next as from Land's End to John o'Groats, in which a man gets into an aeroplane to visit his next-door neighbour.

And I thought of our own crowded island, in any part of which there are five million people living within a bomb's-throw of one another.

The comparison makes one realise what arrant nonsense it is to talk of a British H-bomb as a deterrent.

The only defence against the H-bomb is to have an area so big that some parts of it wouldn't be reached by the fire and blast and radiation.

The USSR has such an area. So has the USA. Britain hasn't.

In an H-bomb war, the Soviet Union would be grievously damaged, but would survive. Great Britain would be rubbed out like a trodden-on-beetle. We could drop an H-bomb only in the knowledge that within twenty-four hours we should cease to exist.

The only threat we offer to the Soviet Union with our H-bomb is the threat of a man who says to another: "If you dare to attack me I shall immediately commit

suicide." That's picturesque, but not much of a deterrent.

For the next few years the weakness of Britain's position is even more one-sided than that. The USA and USSR are practically outside the range of each other's intermediate-range ballistic missiles, and are therefore relatively safe until the long-range missile is produced in quantity in a few year's time. But Britain is within the shorter range, measured from bases in Warsaw Pact States. For some time we shall be the only H-bomb power which is easy to hit with an H-bomb.

PRACTICAL POLICY?

That leads to another thought, which is that the best thing to be in the H-bomb age is a valueless target, i.e. a country that no-one would waste an H-bomb on—a country which could be defeated but which nobody would want to defeat because it wouldn't be worth the effort of holding down.

Is that a practical policy? Surely that question is the one that Stephen King-Hall

□ ON BACK PAGE

Sydney

SILVERMAN

MP

writes on page five

40 MPs HEAR KING-HALL

Defence based on non-violence

COMMANDER SIR STEPHEN KING-HALL met with about 40 Members of Parliament last week in a private meeting to discuss his proposal for serious consideration of a national defence policy based on non-violent resistance, in light of the nature of present nuclear weapons.

The meeting was sponsored by Frank Allaun and Reg. Moss, both Labour, and Joseph Grimmond, Liberal leader. It was an all-party meeting, having been "on the Whip" of all parties.

Revolutionary event

Commander King-Hall declared that "a case exists on grounds of expediency apart from grounds of morality for an enquiry into non-violent resistance."

He called the atomic bomb "the most revolutionary event in the history of man" and said that the only alternative to it was a type of political warfare.

"I claim we are faced today with an absolutely new defence problem," he asserted. Maintaining that since it was impossible for defence by physical means to any longer "keep one jump ahead of the attack," he said that "the only move open is to burst through the barrier into the psychological and spiritual field" and consider a basis of defence by non-military means.

Mutual security approaches were "simply fiddling about with the old approach."

People ought not to assume what the results of the enquiry would be because "if we know what the enquiry is going to find out we don't need an enquiry."

Mr. Donald W. Wade, MP (Liberal), told Peace News this week, "I think his proposal is a very interesting one and certainly deserves serious consideration." Mr. Wade is Chairman of the Yorkshire Liberal Federation and Chairman of the Executive Committee of the British section of the Liberal International.

NEXT WEEK: Dr. Homer Jack reports on "America and the H-bomb in May: a Round-up of H-bomb Protests."

THE KEY OF THE DOOR

WE who read Peace News and work for it share the most revolutionary, and the most hopeful, faith in the world today. Call it non-violence, war resistance, Christian pacifism, or just plain moral good sense, the belief that unites us is the only possible key to an endurable future for mankind.

But let us face it. We have hardly begun our job; a Himalayan task of thinking, education and sheer hard work lie ahead. But we have, too, a faith that can move mountains.

Last week forty British MPs met in the House of Commons to discuss a Royal Commission on Unarmed Defence and in America Admiral Strauss suggests a World Conference of Humanists. Much else of tremendous significance is happening. The mountain is already on the move. We Peace News people are only a fragment of the pushing power, but we may be the fragment that matters most.

Peace News celebrates its twenty-first birthday this week. It moved into its present premises at the age of three. Must we, in our vigorous maturity continue to struggle for freedom of movement in the swaddling clothes of infancy? To mention one detail, had you realised that all sales and distribution work, all Housmans Bookshop and Endsleigh Cards activities, our various publications, telephone switchboard, reception of visitors, duplicating, a great deal of stock, the manager, several of the staff, varying numbers of voluntary helpers and much else is all housed in ONE ROOM, two floors above street level?

At twenty-one we need the key to a new door.

An eminently sensible custom ensures some gift of permanent worth to those who "come of age." What Peace News needs most is new premises, more adequate offices, over a shop where Housmans can expand its already well-established book and stationery trade; a room set aside for visitors, reference reading and meetings; overall a new workshop for peace where much more can be done.

What name shall we give it? Shall we call it Mahatma Gandhi House? Shall we dedicate rooms to those pioneers of pacifism George Lansbury, Dr. Salter, Dick Sheppard, Alex Wood, Henry Carter, Alexander Wilson, H. Runham Brown, Corder Catchpool and many others who have been associated with the paper?

Have ten readers who will send £500 (or \$1,500) each to dedicate such a room, or fifty jointly promising £100 (\$300) each? Who will send £10 for doors and windows, £5 for joists and beams, £1 for a run of bricks, 5s. for a slate?

Just £1 each from everyone who buys Peace News will open our door to the future.

We believe this is the right time to ask personally for the biggest effort you have ever made for Peace News. Please send your promise or your gift now, to the Treasurers (as below).

SYBIL MORRISON

LADY CLARE ANNESLEY

VERA BRITTAIN

HUGH BROCK

Chairman of Directors

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Editor

Please make remittances payable to Peace News Ltd., and send to The Joint Treasurers, Peace News Building Fund, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4. (The Building Fund will be solely devoted to the acquiring and furnishing of new premises and is quite separate from our fortnightly appeals for funds to meet the paper's publishing deficit.)

William Worthy discusses CHINA'S STREET COMMITTEES

William Worthy, correspondent for the Baltimore Afro-American and for CBS News (Columbia Broadcasting System), was one of the three American newsmen who recently defied the American State Department's ban on travel to Communist China.

Currently a Nieman Fellow in journalism at Harvard University, he is engaged in a legal fight to obtain a new passport.

ANYONE who has ever read the account of Richard Wright's northbound "escape" from Memphis in his powerful essay "The Ethics of Living Jim Crow" will recognise that, for Negroes, the seeds of totalitarianism have long been present in the Southern States.

The seeds, yes. But not the full-grown plant. Wright recounts how he had to demean himself and forget his self-respect when the Whites in the factory where he was working learned of his prospective move to Chicago. To keep out of trouble he vigorously denied that he would "change" up North, or avail himself of the North's privilege of talking back to Whites, or so much as glance at a white girl in Chicago. He ends the essay by speaking of the "terror" from which he was desperately fleeing.

Terror it was. Yet the Southern Whites have always been inefficient in their Ku Klux system of control and domination. They never have required Negroes to carry internal passports—a mark of real police States. No armed guards have stood astride the Mason-Dixon Line, with tanks and barbed wire and landmines, to turn back any of the millions of Negro workers seeking better opportunity up North.

The tool

Only recently did Mississippi begin hiring coloured informers to spy on their friends and neighbours. Up to this time Southern Whites have never organised nightly indoctrination lectures and region-wide systems of "thought-remoulding" to hammer the theory of White supremacy into the minds of the coloured population.

It is such blessed gaps in the South's programme of top dogs, bottom dogs that distinguish the authoritarian Jim Crow system of Senator Eastland—evil as it is—from "the real McCoy" of genuine, all-pervasive totalitarianism. Two years ago I saw the way Communist totalitarianism worked in Russia and two of her satellites. In China I learned of a special and unique variation of the "dictatorship of the proletariat."

"Find out all you can about the street committees," I was advised shortly after reaching Peking.

"They hold the key to China's future. It would be a major problem for any Chinese Government to keep in touch with 600,000,000 people. The street, or residence, committee is the tool that has been selected by this Government."

Defined politically, the street committees are the eyes and ears of the police and of the propaganda branches of the Government.

Defined economically, the committees are vital arms of the agencies that plan the economy and administer rationing.

Defined in terms of what we would call social service, the committees apparently take the place of America's private "Red Feather" welfare agencies.

Reports

If you ask any official, the stock answer is that street committees are unofficial civic-minded bodies with, as a rule, 10 to 20 members who are picked by their own neighbours. The best information, however, is that the names are first presented to the Government for approval before the members are elected for their indefinite terms.

Membership on the committees is heavily weighted with housewives who have no jobs outside the home.

No one who chooses to eat is able to get through the months without at least one visit by a committee member, since ration tickets for rice, cooking oil, pork, grains and cotton cloth are passed out by the committees.

Members also ring doorbells to distribute tickets to China's many "voluntary" meetings. On the back of the ticket is the individual's name—a neat system for an automatic attendance record. Even prompt-

ness or tardiness is noted by checkers at the door.

Each street committee on the average takes in 100 to 200 households in a street, block or lane. The committee divides the heads of families into eight to ten groups for discussion purposes and "to hear reports"—three words that crop up in nearly every conversation with meeting-harried Chinese. The people are brought together to hear reports on production, "liberation of Taiwan" (Formosa), counter-revolutionaries, Hungary and an endless list of topics.

When such reports are "debated" on a neighbourhood basis, members of the street committee lead the discussions which invariably end with unanimous approval.

Without the help of the street committees the health programme, which is one of the creditable achievements of the Chinese Communist regime, could not have been so skillfully organised and implemented. Every Spring, when the country is inundated with graphic, colourful propaganda urging booster shots for cholera, typhoid and typhus, doctors and nurses (who are in tragically short supply) are able to inoculate a whole street or block or village in a couple of hours because the committee has the people lined up waiting.

Shanghai

The committees have been at the centre of the extravaganza campaigns which have decimated the ranks of plague-bearing rats and typhoid-carrying flies.

Before going to the courts domestic troubles and neighbourly squabbles are first detoured to the street committee for mediation efforts. Persons requiring relief get it from the Government upon recommendation of the committee.

In Shanghai the Bureau of Labour told me it notifies unemployed workers of job opportunities through street-committee channels. (By official count in that one city alone the figure for unemployment is 100,000.)

As a reporter fills his notebook with items on the many-pronged activities of these committees, he can't help wondering when their members find time to sleep, let alone write up the dossiers and loyalty reports on their neighbours. Neighbourhood literacy classes are organised by the committees, which also buy tickets to particularly good movies for their constituents.

In a city such as Shanghai the municipal Government set-up of mayor and city council is duplicated in the districts and wards. Fifty or more of the "unofficial" street committees are supervised by one office in the district Government. Each ward has a Bureau of Public Safety—the security police. Apparently it is to these ward-level equivalents of the American FBI that the street-committee members report on police matters.

Population

For the past couple of years the dissemination of birth-control information—formerly labelled "a capitalist plot against the workers"—has been centred rather quietly in the factories. Family planning and the spacing of children are practices that go against the ancient Chinese tradition of large families, and this Communist Government in many ways has been practical enough to avoid outraging deeply ingrained traditional feelings.

Recently, however, the Minister of Health has given the signal—"reluctantly," she declared at a conference in Peking—for a much-stepped-up campaign to limit the population growth. Quite frankly she told the people that production simply wasn't large enough to feed the 1,000,000 Chinese babies that are born each and every month.

From several sources I learned while in China that the street committees will be the link between Government and the men and women of child-bearing age in the efforts to

reduce the phenomenal and explosive birth-rate.

Thus the street committees' success or failure in this urgent venture will necessarily make these little-known neighbourhood entities a factor in the geopolitical calculations of worried, underpopulated, racially exclusive neighbours such as Australia and New Zealand and also of every major Foreign Office and State Department on this food-short intertwined planet.

BY WAY OF EXPLANATION...

The author offers the explanation of several terms in the above article for the benefit of English language readers.

"Jim Crow," a colloquial phrase for the system of racial segregation in the USA. "The Ethics of Living Jim Crow" would mean the ethics and ethical conflicts of a Negro living according to the rules of racial discrimination.

"Senator Eastland," the number one

racist and anti-Negro member of Congress. A Democrat from Mississippi and chairman of the powerful Senate Judiciary Committee.

"The real McCoy," a slang phrase for "the real product" or the "true, genuine item."

"Shots," a colloquial phrase for inoculations to immunise a person against a contagious disease.

The prisoners of Goa

BY TAYA ZINKIN

Correspondent of the Manchester Guardian and the London Economist

"WE can show you photos of our political prisoners, before they went to jail, in 1955. You will see for yourself how fat they have become. We treat them so well," said the Commandant of the Police in Panjim as I went to retrieve my film which had been confiscated on the way into Goa because I had taken the photo of an African soldier near an armoured car.

This was in October, 1956, more than a year after a large number of Goans and Indians had been jailed for trying to stage a peaceful satyagraha for Goa's merger with India. Some of these prisoners were serving sentences ranging from 10 to 12 years, mostly the Indians—about 30 of them who have by now been released except for one woman prisoner who is still in jail—and from 10 to 20 or 30 years for the Goans of whom there are many hundreds and who are still in jail.

The Military Governor General of Goa, a quiet pleasant man, highly respected, also suggested that I should go for myself to see how well the prisoners are looked after.

Indeed, the Portuguese authorities were so keen to show me their jails that they stretched every regulation about visiting hours and had the prisoners ready from morning till seven o'clock in the evening when I actually came.

The main prisoners are kept in a seventeenth century fortress, some 45 minutes from the capital. Palm beaches, silvery sands, rippling waters, arch-ways and paved courtyards conspire to make the jail one of the world's most romantic retreats. There were also a vaulted gateway, whitewashed roofs, neat stacks of ancient bullets, the Arms of Portugal. The thought crossed my mind that I would quite like to stay there myself, for a while at least.

UNABLE TO SIT

I asked the warden if the prisoners are allowed to swim. He looked at me with amazement and stated that prisoners are not allowed out of their cells except for 30 minutes a day, five days a week. The rest of the time they are locked up. They are not allowed to work or play games except chess, or listen to the radio or perform religious services, they can read, write and draw, they cannot even spin if they are Gandhian converts. Conditions in the lock-up were terrible.

The first cell I saw (and here I confine myself to describe the condition in which the Goans had to live since the Indians have since then been released) would have been ample for 20 inmates, crammed with 30, it in fact housed 68 people. "How do you sit?" I asked and they explained that they do not sit, or stand, but remain lying on their bunks.

Double decker bunks, side by side, wide enough for one man to lie on, faced each other with a narrow gangway in the middle. The heads of the bunks touched the walls on either side of the elongated cell, and the

second row was too near the bottom row or the ceiling for a man to sit on his bunk without crouching a bit. So it was simpler to lie down.

The cell had one lavatory—a hole in the ground—so that prisoners need not go out. The lavatory which is also the bathroom with its overhead bucket for water, faces the kitchen where food is cooked and doled out. The prisoners in turn cook their food which they have to pay for out of their meagre daily allowance—two shillings—which covers food, fuel, laundry, soap, cigarettes.

I asked the Commandant of the jail why he did not allow the prisoners out into the yard for exercise since the cell was so congested. He answered serenely that his prisoners are treated exactly like the Portuguese in Goa, or in Portugal, for that matter. No wonder there are Portuguese soldiers who desert to India rather than serve their term for petty offences.

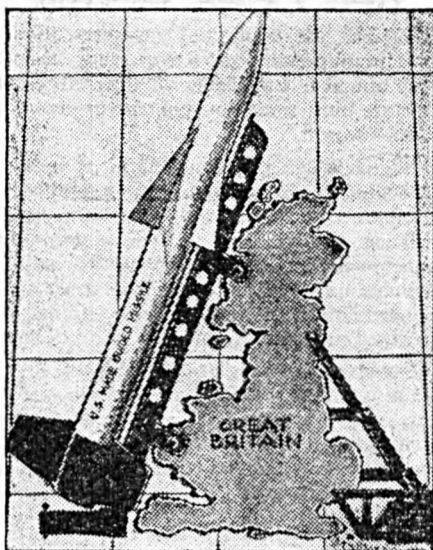
SHOT HIMSELF

Portuguese and Goans alike are terrified of jail. Corporal punishment is practised by the jail authorities. The Indian prisoners who had complained to the Egyptian diplomat about jail conditions last year were severely beaten after he left, and while I was in Goa, one Hindu administrator of a Religious Trust died of beating while he was kept for cross-examination by the military authorities.

One leading businessman who had complained because a soldier had been bothering one of his maids was formally invited to witness the flogging. African soldiers are publicly flogged for the slightest offence and there are many stories of Goans taken to Africa during the night, without trial. Some families it is said have been waiting for 25 years without news of their exiles.

It is whispered in Goa that people who get arrested are tortured to death. Shortly before my visit one leading Goan businessman who was so trusted by the Portuguese authorities that he was the sole stockist of explosives (because of mining, there is a very profitable import of explosives) shot himself when he was called to police headquarters.

He was wanted merely to identify a thief but the Commandant of the Police, a personal friend of his, had not thought it necessary to say why he was wanted. The businessman who had heard many a police story from his friend told his wife that he could not face a cross-examination, yet he was not only innocent but actually pro-Portuguese.



NATO's future rocket launcher
Reproduced from the Philadelphia Inquirer.

Keep nuclear weapons out of Germany

KEEP Germany away from the deadly dangers of atomic rearmament," is the plea made in a letter to Dr. Adenauer, Chancellor of the German Federal Republic, from the President of the German Section of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Frau Magda Hoppstock-Huth.

After telling Dr. Adenauer that her members give their support to the 18 physicists opposed to the manufacture of atomic weapons in Germany, she adds her own organisation's protests "against the storage of atomic weapons on German soil, and against the equipment of the German army with atomic weapons."

The letter concludes: "We are convinced that only by foregoing the use or possession of atomic weapons can Germany contribute her share towards general disarmament and world peace."

WHITSUN



WHITSUNTIDE is the birthday of the Christian Church and the special festival of the Holy Spirit, although many will be taking advantage of the Bank Holiday who would not accept the reason for it. But many who are professing Christians share in the sense of the urgent need for a new spirit in the world today. Scientific discoveries and technical progress have outstripped man's spiritual development until he is in danger not only of destroying the world in which he lives, but some of the essential characteristics of man by the misuse of the latest form of energy and by the creation of a mechanical civilisation.

For too long the world has accepted the wrong standards and values and men, therefore, remain a prey to their own fears and greed. What is needed, and not least in the Churches, is the acceptance of the challenge of Whitsun. "Not by might nor by power, but by my spirit, saith the Lord"—the spirit whose traditional gifts are those of which the world stands in such dire need.

Pacifism is part of that appeal not to expediency or fear but to man's conscience. Pacifism is the challenge to bring order out of chaos. Pacifism is an expression of the fruits of the spirit. We may well, therefore, claim a share in Whitsuntide and see in it not only a holiday in which we can break through the normal routine, but an encouragement to renewed activity and certainty of the truth of our message. To express this through a gift to the Peace Pledge Union Headquarters Fund is my appeal to you this week.

STUART MORRIS,
General Secretary.

Our aim for the year: £1,150.
Amount received to date: £251.

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union, which are used for the work of the PPU, should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

Some thoughts on the organisation of non-violence

By the Rev. **MICHAEL SCOTT**

Director of the Africa Bureau

YOUR paper comes of age at a time when the destiny of mankind depends, as never before in history, on what forces for peace can be mustered in opposition to those making for war in the areas of growing conflict any one of which could become the detonator of the last war to end war.

Human beings of many different religious and political creeds are looking for some inspiration strong enough to overcome the barriers of race, creed, nation and colour which divide them in face of the common threat of artificial death.

In the new revolutionary period which has already begun in some of these areas today new thought and leadership are required, not only in the struggle for peace but also for justice, and in the organisation of resistance to oppression in its most modern and efficient forms. The fight is not only against nuclear war but against all those tyrannies whose cumulative result is war and against which organised violence is ineffectual for moral as well as political and tactical reasons.



While there must be many like myself who would not accept that civilisation has yet reached the stage when all forms of force can be abandoned as a sanction for defence or restraint against criminals and lunatics, yet who see non-violent resistance to injustice as a more civilised method than violence, and who see the need for its efficient organisation if it is to be effectual.

Has not the time come to give more serious consideration to the organisation of an international peace force to consist of volunteers trained in the disciplines and techniques of non-violent action. Many will have been greatly interested by the statements made in your paper by Sir Stephen King-Hall and Dharampal. The suggestion of a Royal Commission might perhaps have its counterpart in a common people's commission to make a serious study of the techniques of non-violent resistance and their application in the varied but urgent dilemmas confronting people of all walks of life in our civilisation today.

Our lives are all affected, from those engaged in top secret scientific research to the youngest conscript, by the menacing realities confronting us—the H-bomb and other methods of physical destruction, the mental and moral destruction of brain washing, truth-selection, the control of the mind and perversion of the soul through the modern media of communication, racial injustice, the use of the powers of the State and processes of law for the practical enforcement of false philosophies and racial myths.



We need to know what are the techniques of resistance that are open to us in these situations; what are their limitations and potentialities in combatting the misuse of scientific truth and processes—heresy-hunting, religious persecution, the abuse of power to impose inequality in Church and State, etc.

If resistance to these things is to amount to something more than negative and haphazard protests by defiant individuals there must be organisation. If it is to be a moral force that rulers must reckon with it must be efficient and capable of mass forms of passive resistance such as the bus boycotts in South Africa and the Southern States.

We are in danger of seeing humanity betrayed again because resistance to tyranny in the post-war world, for all the courage and efficiency put into it, is being harnessed to methods which are as destructive of human aspirations as they are productive of hatred and despair. The suggestions made in your columns reveal the urgent need not only of new ideas but of people dedicated to them from every race, religion and nation if humanity is to be preserved and freedom and justice established on earth in place of the dark ages which are threatening the nemesis of civilisation.

RADIATION RECOGNISES NO FRONTIERS says Ritchie Calder

THE Bishop of Chichester, Dr. George Bell, presided over a conference called on May 20 to consider the effects of nuclear weapon tests. The conference held in Crawley New Town was convened jointly by the Crawley Christian Council, which represents all the non-Roman Christian bodies in the town, the Crawley Trades Council and the Crawley Pacifist Fellowship.

Delegates attending numbered 156, representing 16 Christian Churches and groups, 14 trade unions and 35 social and other political groups, in addition to local Councils and members of the medical profession.

Dr. Bell addressing the meeting said: "Can we, short of being completely mad, really believe that possession of these weapons by every nation is going to prevent war?"

Scientific ignorance

Ritchie Calder, CBE, the UN advisor and scientific writer, who also spoke to the meeting said that nobody could know what the results of nuclear weapon tests might be.

"The question is not one of scientific knowledge but of scientific ignorance," he said. "The issue is not what scientists know, but what they do not know. Radiation does not recognise frontiers." After discussion, the following resolution

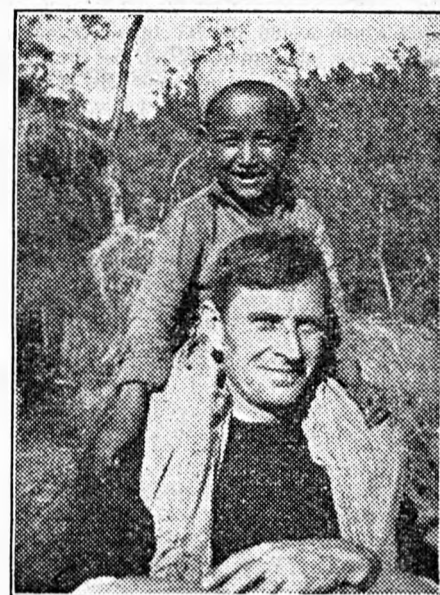
was passed unanimously:

"That this conference summoned by the Christian Council, the Trades Council and the Pacifist Fellowship of Crawley, appeals to Her Majesty's Government to give a moral lead to the world by ceasing from any further experimental explosions of nuclear weapons and, in conjunction with the Governments of the USA and the USSR to make a determined effort to secure an international agreement abolishing not only nuclear test explosions but also nuclear weapons."

Peacemaker project

PEACEMAKERS, an American pacifist group, will sponsor a work camp at Woolmandale Farm (near Allentown, Pa., about sixty miles North of Philadelphia), from June 9—15. One purpose of the work camp is to prepare Woolmandale Farm for a Folk School summer session sponsored by Bob Luitweiler, Star Route, Limeport, Penna.; and for the Peacemaker Training Programme on Non-violence which will be in session there from August 19 to September 1. Another purpose is for a closer fellowship of all who are interested in non-violent resistance to war.

The cost will be \$10.
Address applications and requests for information to Marjorie Swann, 2845 Sussex Ave., Trevoze, Pa.



A happy burden for Michael Scott—in a village near Rishikesh, Himalayas, India.

Disastrous to Welsh way of life BY GENE SHARP

A WARNING that the denationalising and Anglicising process in Wales and Scotland has proceeded to the point that "no one can say for sure that either nation will live through the future," was issued by Gwynfor Evans, President of Plaid Cymru (the Welsh Nationalist Party) at a meeting of the London branch of the Party recently.

He spoke of "the farce" presented recently when five English lawyers of the Select Committee in the House of Lords considered the future of Tryweryn Valley in Wales wanted by the Liverpool City Council for a water reservoir.

They had "no particular knowledge or interest in Wales," he said. A genuine inquiry should have been in the nature of an international tribunal with members not from either England or Wales.

NO JUSTICE

The Valley is in "the middle of one of the most lively areas of Wales" where the Welsh language and traditions are strongest. The intrusion of the dam and an alien community would have a disastrous effect on the Welsh way of life, now especially severely threatened after seven centuries of English rule by the "pressure of the new techniques of the Press, cinema and television."

The issue would be decided by political factors, he said. "There is no justice in this kind of case . . . If the Government thinks that it can with impunity allow Liverpool to go on with this plan with complete safety to its own interest and to English parties in Wales it will do so, but if opposition is strong enough to be hard on the English parties then it will not go on," the Welsh nationalist leader declared.

POLITICAL STRUGGLE

"As long as Wales is without a Government this thing is not only possible but legal," he stated referring to the seizure of the valley without consultation of the residents or of Wales.

He pointed out that it is "nonsense to speak of people being deprived of water. What is in jeopardy is the growth of the city. Who wants a city like Liverpool to grow any more?"

Liverpool had not even looked for water in England, he said, pointing out that the reason they did not even consider getting water from the lake district of England was out of fear of opposition in England of the kind they were not prepared to respect in Wales.

"The future of Wales depends on the presence of a government in our own country more than any other thing. No responsible Welshman can pretend that he can stand aside from the political struggle."

A meeting was to be held in Washington, DC, on May 17 following the Prayer Pilgrimage, of pacifists interested in direct action against nuclear tests.

Change necessary

PACIFISTS will continue to doubt whether UN can be made to work without far more radical changes, such as those which would involve universal membership, the subordination of the Security Council to the Assembly, and the strengthening of methods of reconciliation and mediation in place of the authority to use violence to deter or punish aggression.

International police

IN that regard, the detailed proposals for setting up an international police force published by Federal Union and the Parliamentary Group for World Government are significant.

They involve the substitution for the present Emergency Force of a police force of 20,000 men recruited directly by UN and having their own base and means of transport.

Although the report states that "its arms would only be sufficient for individual protection and to deal with attacks on such a small scale that a national government could plausibly claim it had neither sponsored nor connived at them," and although it would be able to move into a territory only with the consent of the State concerned, some doubt remains as to how far it could legitimately be called a police force, if only because it is proposed to set up a military council as the governing body of the force.

Moreover, the commission looks beyond those proposals to the longer term object of setting up a force "able to fight its way in and stop a conflict, and finally a general world police force."

In the view of Peace News, at least the intermediary action could not be justifiably called police action and, in point of fact, when the conditions have been created within which a properly constituted police force was possible, the need for it would no longer exist.

At this critical stage it is of the greatest importance that whatever amendments or further action might be proposed, they should emphasise the complete failure of violence and strengthen the whole apparatus of law and order, reconciliation and mediation by upholding the moral authority of the United Nations.

Different test

SINCE the tragedy of Poland and Hungary pacifists have asserted that those who were seriously concerned about the right of all peoples to be free should realise, in view of the failure of violence to achieve that object, that so far as Central Europe was concerned freedom depended on recognising the reasons why Russia insisted on having satellites. They have argued that the Soviet Union might well be disposed to accept a general solution under which, in return for the withdrawal of Western forces from Western Germany, they would be prepared to withdraw from Eastern Germany, Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia. Now Mr. Khrushchov in a television interview, answering a question about the Kadar regime, replied: "Let us have a test. Why do you not withdraw your troops from Germany and France and we will withdraw ours from Germany, Poland and Hungary, and you will see that the Kadar regime will flourish for ages to come." Once more Peace News has been justified in pressing for the creation of a neutral belt in Europe as the solution not only of the problem of German reunification but also of the satellite countries. Now is the time to take up Khrushchov's challenge.

Formosa riot

ONE does not have to be American to feel horrified at the riot in Formosa in which the USA Embassy at Taipeh was wrecked. But whether it is true, as now suggested in some quarters, that the mob was incited by subversive agitators from the mainland is a matter of minor importance. The fundamental fact about the rioting is that it illustrates, once again, the intolerableness of extra-territorial rights.

Master-Sergeant Reynolds would almost certainly not have been acquitted of the manslaughter of the man whom he killed because his wife told him that the man had peeped at her through the bathroom window, if he had been tried by a Formosan



court instead of by the American military authorities. And if he had been acquitted by a Formosan court, there would not have been the same feeling that the acquittal was due to the white man's still persisting lower valuation of human life if that life belongs to a coloured man.

The probable outcome in the not-so-long run is a cooling-off in American enthusiasm for the Chiang Kai-shek regime: a desirable result for the wrong reason.

Trade with China

THERE is more than one reason for which we can welcome the British decision to ease the control on trade with China.

First of all, it is simply plain common-sense to allow goods to go to China direct which can go there, anyway, via Russia and which, by going direct, will help British shipping.

Secondly, China's requirements consist so largely of heavy industry goods that any

extension of their production in this country will tend to make diversion away from armaments easier by reducing innate fears of declining business and employment. It will therefore tend in the direction of the formulation of policies genuinely consistent with peace.

Thirdly, if British policy must deviate from that of the United States, it is a good thing—particularly after the futile aggressiveness of the Egyptian adventure—that it should do so on an issue concerning which it has the far greater part of world opinion on its side.

And the last reason, though it will perhaps be wise to add that it is as yet nothing more than a hope, is that this wider opening-up of trade with China, taken in conjunction with the recent lessening of hostility between Chou En-lai and Chiang Kai-shek declarations, may help towards American recognition of what is obviously the firmly established Government of China.

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TWENTY-ONE

PEACE NEWS is 21 years old with this issue! That in itself is an astonishing event in the world of political journalism, and it was hardly foreseen by the group of young pacifists around Humphrey Moore which launched the first issue in June, 1936.

They felt the time had come for the newly formed Peace Pledge Union, and indeed the whole English pacifist movement, to see itself reflected and discussed, and thereby focussed, in the print of a weekly newspaper.

As they wrote in their first leading article:

"Hitherto there has been nothing that provided anything like an adequate linking together of all that mass of peace thought and action . . . in every part of the country."

For the first three years of the paper's life, the accent was rather upon thought than action. It would need a considerable sociological survey to do justice to the various traditions of pacifist thought that have been the breeding ground for what we generically call pacifism. There were the views of Quakers, Tolstoyans, Gandhians, Socialist anti-militarists, anarchists, humanitarians and even vegetarians. Little wonder that early issues of Peace News often gave the impression that pacifism was in practice an interecine sectarian struggle!



BUT with World War II the accent was forcibly changed from thought to action. Pacifists of all the shades of opinion had to see their point of view put to the general test of conscription for war.

There was necessarily a great winnowing of wheat from chaff. Young pacifists, members of Peace News staff among them, found themselves in prison. Questions were asked in the House of Commons why Peace News was not censored or suppressed.

It is a tribute to the tolerance of English life that Peace News was permitted its pacifist say to the end. It survived the refusal of the trade to sell the paper. It built up its own sales organisation. It got back the circulation to 20,000.

With the uneasy peace there was a further winnowing among pacifists. Peace News editor, the late Middleton Murray himself, began to lose his pacifist convictions. He considered non-violent resistance impossible against a totalitarian police state. He felt this to be the lesson of the Nazi concentration camps, and he came near to giving assent to a preventive war against Communist Russia.

And so the accent fell back again upon pacifist thought and discussion. How to resolve the dilemma that pacifist action seems unable to be raised beyond the plane of the individual. Is it therefore by its nature doomed to general political ineffectiveness?

The PPU and PN withstood the temporary mood of frustration on the inescapable ground of the moral impossibility of total war. For the idea of man which a pacifist has, does not permit the practice of such brutalities.



NOW we are entering on a new phase.

Total war is becoming impossible on the rational grounds of human survival. Yet we are all aware that collectively man can become emotionally irrational and brutalised, that nuclear war is still quite possible in another and more terrifying sense of the word.

So that Peace News on its twenty-first birthday has as much, and more relevance than it ever had. It is speaking now to a world-wide audience. It still has the inescapable task of evangelising a public opinion that is growing indeed frightened of war, but is unwilling to refuse it as an act of moral faith.

The gap between expediency and moral courage is desperately wide. Within the hopes and fears of that gap Peace News lives.

It is now a grown man. It has accepted, with a gay seriousness, the burdens of its function.

MICHAEL TIPPETT.

Red Cross motion

THERE are important members of the International Red Cross who, despite their practical knowledge of the realities of warfare, must somehow contrive to live in a fantasy world.

At the Red Cross Convention, to be held in Delhi in the autumn, the International Committee plans to introduce a motion which will ask Governments to endorse proposals under which the bombardment of civilian populations or inhabited built-up areas shall be prohibited, and air attacks limited to specified military objectives.

Governments are also to be asked to agree to the prohibition of arms whose damaging effects may "expand in an unforeseen manner in space and time and escape the control of those who made use of them, thereby endangering the population and even future generations."

This last is probably a roundabout way of describing the H-bomb. As the H-bomb is covered by the stipulation regarding civil populations and built-up areas it would seem to be superfluous. It may, however, in its vagueness be intended to cover "tactical" nuclear weapons also. Red Cross folk should be the last people to think that there is any value in making vague recommendations and hoping for the best when Governments resort to war.

If the nations could be brought, as Professor Leopold Boissier, the President of the International Red Cross, apparently hopes, to regard the wholesale slaughter of children as something too dastardly to be pursued, it would be a highly desirable advance in human morality; but when that point is reached, and the nations can be brought to renounce all their most powerful instruments of war, they will obviously have become ready to renounce war itself.

Your greetings

MY thanks, on behalf of the Directors and the Staff for the many greetings sent to Peace News from readers all over the world. We are able to print only a few on pages six and seven.

PPU Election results

THE National Council of the Peace Pledge Union has now nine elected members in addition to 18 area representatives and the ex-officio members (the Chairman, Hon. Treasurers, General Secretary and the Editor of Peace News).

The nine declared elected after last month's ballot are:

Michael Tippet, former Chairman; Fred Barton, Quaker, TU organiser, former Chairman of ILP and now a member of the Labour Party; Reginald Reynolds, author, traveller and lecturer, former Secretary of the No More War Movement and worker with Gandhi; Trefor Davies, Vice-Chairman since 1954; Allen Skinner, Associate Editor of Peace News and World War I CO; Harry Mister, Secretary and Manager of Peace News; the Rev. D. R. Thomas, Presbyterian minister in Merthyr Tydfil and frequent broadcaster in Welsh "Any Questions" programmes; Leonard Bird, former Area Organiser; and Arlo Tatum, Secretary, War Resisters' International, twice imprisoned in USA as a conscientious objector.

World War I veteran

THERE were 17 candidates for the nine places and voting was very close. There will be many sharing my regret that Sam Walsh just failed to retain his seat. Sam, who lost an arm and a leg as a serving soldier in World War I, has given long years of service to the Council.

Others who sought election were Phoebe Berrow, daughter of the pianist Frank Merriker; Joyce Runham-Brown, daughter of the founder of the War Resisters' International; Christopher Farley and Michael Randle of the Pacifist Youth Action Group; Albert Leaper, Fellowship Party Parliamentary candidate; Bryan Reed, Secretary, Central Board for Conscientious Objectors; and Gene Sharp, Assistant Editor, Peace News.



Continuing the discussion on Commander King-Hall's unarmed defence proposal A CHALLENGE WE CANNOT EVADE

By Sydney Silverman MP

STEPHEN KING-HALL'S thesis is that non-violent resistance is now more likely to succeed than violent resistance. Pacifists would not quarrel with his thesis: their faith has always been that to meet violence with violence is to concede the victory to force before the battle starts, that such a victory is worthless for any moral or civilised purpose, that it does not remove but confirms the authority of might over right, and that it has never failed to create more problems than it solves.

It is not clear whether King-Hall would accept the whole of that faith, even now. What is clear is that, in his view, the destructive power of thermo-nuclear weapons is so vast that to use them is unthinkable while, if war occurs, not to use them is—at least in the last analysis—equally unthinkable.

It follows that the H-bomb establishes that the only possible resistance, effective for the purposes of the resisters if they win, is non-violent resistance, so that the pacifist case, though perhaps not necessarily true before, is true now.

Challenge

He wants a Royal Commission to investigate these propositions. If a Royal Commission is the best way to make ordinary people think, I hope he gets one.

But whether he gets a Royal Commission appointed or not, he deserves the thanks of all responsible citizens for facing democratic society, indeed civilised society in any form, with a challenge it cannot evade.

For unless we find the right answer to the questions he asks, civilisation—and perhaps much more than civilisation—is doomed.

Moral strength

Until now, the problem has been neither one of logic nor of practicality: it has been simply a problem of morals. The logic of the pacifist case has always been unassailable.

No one can force a miner in Hungary, a docker in Suez or a Jew in Auschwitz to work; force can destroy but, unless its authority is accepted, it cannot create.

Wherever its exercise has appeared to succeed, its success has been based on fear of it or acquiescence in it. Resisted, it is always powerless.

The case against the pacifists has always been that non-violent resistance which never, no matter what the consequences, acquiesces in force, requires moral strength of which, in the end, too few are capable: too few, that is to say, for success.

No human society, so far, has had at its disposal sufficient moral resources to maintain resistance to the end, without either yielding or resorting to force.

Collective security

As a second best, international society sought, since 1918, to rely on collective security: a system in which, without renouncing force, each nation undertook not to use force in pursuance of its own rights or policies but only, jointly with all others, in collective action against any nation which, in defiance of that covenant, attacked another.

Abyssinia, Spain, Austria and Czechoslovakia tell the dismal story of that tragic failure between the wars.

Since 1945 there has been another attempt. The cold war, the divided world, the armaments race, the mutual fears and suspicions and hates fill us all with an unutterable dread.

Each side seeks security in strength and, since neither side can long remain stronger than the other, in the same old "balance of power" which twice in a single generation brought the world to catastrophe.

Now each side is armed with weapons of ultimate catastrophe. Each side hopes to frighten the other into submission, yet each side knows that the weapon is of value only if it is not used.

But if the world can, out of practical necessity, accept in relation to this one weapon a truth which it rejected when it rested only on logic and ethics, will it not

be bound to accept it of all weapons? And if it does not, how long will it or could it renounce the use of one weapon alone?



Photo: Bassano
S. Sydney Silverman, MP

LET'S HAVE A ROYAL COMMISSION

By Robert S.W. Pollard

It is not always recognised what an important place Royal Commissions of Enquiry have in British democratic machinery. But for the last 130 years Governments of all parties have used them for enquiry into urgent social problems for which there are no easy ready made solutions or where feelings about the answers to problems are very strong.

Public debate

If a matter is difficult or controversial and is not part of a party's programme a Government will often find it difficult to take action about it. But some action may have to be taken owing to the urgency of the problem or the strength of feeling in the country.

An impartial enquiry by a Royal Commission may provide the answer. Even if no clear answer is given the collection of evidence for the Commission, the giving of the evidence and its publication, followed by the published report of the Commission itself produce much public debate and discussion in the newspapers and elsewhere and in this way the public can be considerably educated and enlightened.

Sometimes Royal Commissions are condemned because their appointment is said to be due to a desire by Governments to delay action. But delay is not always by any means harmful.

A problem may need much discussion and study before there can be widespread agreement on the solution for it. There must be time for thought and time can

change attitudes.

This is the position with the idea of non-violent resistance. A small pacifist

ON BACK PAGE

Our contributors

S. SYDNEY SILVERMAN, MP (Labour), has represented Nelson and Colne since 1935. He holds the degrees of BA and LLB. He has been a Member of the National Executive Committee of the Labour Party since 1956. Born in 1895, he was educated at Liverpool Institute, and Liverpool University and admitted as solicitor in 1927. He was formerly University Lecturer at the National University of Finland. He is co-author with R. T. Paget of "Hanged—and Innocent?" Last year he played a prominent role in the campaign for the abolition of capital punishment. His Private Members' Bill to end hanging became the focal point of the movement.

ROBERT S. W. POLLARD is a practising lawyer, a Justice of the Peace for Middlesex, and one of the joint legal advisers to the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors.

He is author inter alia of "Conscience and Liberty," editor of the "Memoirs of Frances E. Pollard," published with "War and Human Values" by Peace News, as well as some pamphlets.

A Quaker and educated at two Quaker schools, he was for five years a member of the Friends Peace Committee.

A letter from Commander King-Hall appears on page 8

The final act of imperial tyranny

By FENNER BROCKWAY MP

and Dar-es-Salaam in Tanganyika. Kenya itself is to be made a military reserve. Sites for barracks and camps and ammunition dumps are now being sought by representatives of the Imperial Defence Staff in the neighbourhood of Nairobi.

This new base in East Africa is to serve a threefold purpose. It is to become the Southern HQ of the British Middle East Command. It is to serve as a strategic reserve for the military forces associated with the Baghdad Pact. It is to be a Defence Post for the whole continent of Africa.

The African leaders in Kenya have not been slow to appreciate the meaning of this development. It says "good-bye" to any early hope of independence. Kenya will not be allowed to become self-governing whilst it is regarded as militarily necessary to Britain.

Tom Mboya, leader of the elected African group in the Legislative Council, has come out strongly against the adoption of this East African colony as a strategic base. He sees the implications.

May I add a personal view? It seems to me the final act of imperial tyranny to impose on any people today a part in global war preparations, without consulting them, without their consent, when we all know that modern war means human annihilation.

POLITICAL CRIME

What would be the first effects on Mombasa, Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi of war between the Eastern and Western blocs? Guided missiles or atomic bombs would destroy them utterly. It is the last political crime open to man that this fate should be thrust on any people when they have not been a party to the conflict.

No one can say that the six million Africans in Kenya have ever had any responsibility for the fatal divisions of the "civilised" world at the present time.

These considerations apply not only to East Africa. They affect even West Africa,

marching on more hopefully towards independence.

West Africa, too, would be important in a global war. Britain and Germany would disappear under Hydrogen bomb attacks. Europe would retreat to Africa, and West Africa would be the strategic place for American reinforcements to arrive by air. West Africa must be made dependable to the Western bloc.

In London this month representatives of Nigeria are discussing with the British Colonial Secretary the attainment of independence. They are united. They demand that Nigeria shall be politically free in two years' time.

I think they will gain their demand. They certainly will if they remain united. But I am certain that before the end of the discussions the strategic issue will arise.

HUMAN FREEDOM

It has now become more important by the discovery of oil in Eastern Nigeria. A concession for exploration and eventual exploitation has been given to the Shell-BP Company. I am told that the pipe lines which are being laid down are larger in size even than the pipe lines in the Middle East.

This could be of great promise to Eastern Nigeria if the consequent wealth passed to the people and to the development of Nigerian industry. But there are also dangers. Oilfields can become human furnaces.

The British will ask for military assurances and for economic safeguards. Nigeria's representatives will do well to remember that political independence is of little avail if future hope of economic and military independence is forgotten.

Wherever Asian and African movements are self-reliant, they take Nehru's view that they should be independent of both Power blocs. They cannot accept Soviet totalitarianism. They cannot accept Western Imperialism. Their one desire is to serve the cause of human freedom and peace.

I hope and believe that an independent Nigeria, like an independent India, will contribute to the triumph of this cause.

Twenty-first birthday

Father TREVOR HUDDLESTON, CR

I AM WRITING to offer you my sincere congratulations and good wishes for your twenty-first birthday.

I suppose that no task is of more vital significance to the whole human family at this time than the proclamation of peace. And our generation may well be the last to have the opportunity of hearing it.

We have reached the end of an era. Power in its ultimate physical form—the H-bomb—is annihilation. We have to look, therefore, to power on the spiritual, moral and ethical level and to proclaim that peace is dependent upon this power alone.

Only the nation which is courageous enough to make such an act of faith is likely to give reassurance to the world. I believe Great Britain is capable of doing this, but only if our people are made aware of the issues which challenge them.

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

India's elder statesman

TO PEACE NEWS which comes of age this June, my most cordial blessings. This twenty-first birthday coincides with a crisis in world affairs, a revolt against the nuclear Powers. The world's protest against the activities of these Powers has reached a head.

No greater injury to world-health can be conceived than what medical men and biologists and top-scientists in radio-active physics have predicted.

The vast mass of mankind object to being poisoned in order that the Powers may deter one another from aggression. They do not want their progeny to be victims of genetic damage just because these Powers cannot trust one another and settle their problems.

Peace News has a great part to play in this battle against public crime and the defence of the natural rights of the world.

Dr. D. MARTIN NIEMOLLER

WHEN I LEARNED THAT PEACE NEWS was going to celebrate its twenty-first anniversary, the words of St. Paul came to my mind: "by honour and dishonour, by evil report and good report: as deceivers and yet true; as unknown and yet wellknown; as dying, and behold, we live; as chastened and not killed; as sorrowful, yet always rejoicing; as poor, yet making many rich." (2 Cor. 6, 8-10).

For the history of Peace News is a story of courage and daring enterprise, of danger and slander, of service and sacrifice, a history dedicated to the good cause of peace on earth among men of good will. May this spirit live on and continue to work as a leaven in today's generation and to bring about that change of mind which we all need and for which we all pray.

Mrs. IRMA SZIRMAI

Peace News reader living in Budapest

THE TWENTY-FIRST ANNIVERSARY of the first issue of Peace News affords the particularly welcomed opportunity to express in the name of your devoted Hungarian friends, and especially in my own, our deepest gratitude and real appreciation—as keen readers of your paper for many years—for your excellent achievements in serving the ideals of peace and humanity.

I had the advantage to become a reader of Peace News in the most heavy time after World War II. It was for me then and has remained up to now, a real comfort and a promise of a better future.

I always admire the perfect objectiveness of the paper in following up with shrewd circumspection events all over the world, discerning them always from the highest standpoint of justice and humanism.

I appreciated very thoroughly your excellent reports concerning historical events of human development, as well as your having given the full tenor of prominent speeches concerning peace, having thus eliminated all kinds of misunderstanding. I gratefully remember, for example, your having reproduced, in full, Dr. Schweitzer's remarkable speech in Oslo in 1953, and recently his so very important appeal to the world on the subject of H-bomb tests.

Women and mothers everywhere are the ones who appreciate best the value of your heroic fight, for women and mothers are the foremost sufferers of war, called "matribus detestata" by the great poet of the ancient belligerent Romans. One of the prominent goals of woman's fight for equal rights was to acquire the power to eliminate, with the help of motherly spirit, the spirit of hatred and war. Though equality of rights is granted to us in nearly all countries, we miss the power effectively to prevent war. We should assist therefore with gratitude and persuasion the fight activated by so noble and unswerving a fighter as Peace News.

I beg to express our best wishes for the success of your endeavours, for the final victory of our ideals.

HAROLD BING

Chairman of the War Resisters' International

I HAVE VERY GREAT PLEASURE in sending congratulations to Peace News on its coming of age. I well remember the occasion, twenty-one years ago, when Humphrey Moore gave up his work with the National Peace Council to start his venture of faith—a faith which events have fully justified.

The survival of Peace News in spite of wartime and other difficulties has been something of a journalistic miracle. Today, the paper is more needed than ever and I hope all friends of peace will rally round it and secure it the large and worldwide circulation it deserves.

Dr. HUGH SCHONFIELD

Historian, and founder of the Commonwealth of World Citizens

HEARTIEST CONGRATULATIONS and good wishes to Peace News on coming of age. I have been happy to note of late the evidence that the paper was growing up and increasing in wisdom and stature. Pacifism can only succeed if it is associated with informed and constructive thinking, and lays aside childish ways. Immaturity in the past was natural and not to be despised. Now we need the adult Peace News to which and to its editor I wish prosperity and a long life of increasingly useful service.

RICHARD B. GREGG

Author of "The Power of Non-violence," writing from the Fellowship Ashram, Kodaikanal, Madurai District, Madras State, India.

PLEASE ACCEPT MY WARM APPRECIATION of all that Peace News has done in the past years for the cause we hold dear, and my high hopes and firm belief that Peace News and all its staff will accomplish still finer and greater things for our cause in the future.

The struggle between good and evil without more often seems discouraging, and it will probably continue to the end of time. But it can be transcended by such means as non-violence, forgiveness, love, humility, humour, and the insights of poetry, great art, great music, drama, and the like.

There has to be the non-violent struggle between good and evil before they can be transcended, but the ways of transcending are not super-human, and indeed are not rare. So we may be of good cheer and keep our hopes high. All good wishes to you.

Lord BOYD ORR

BEST WISHES for the continued success of Peace News in creating a well informed public opinion in favour of the removal of social injustice and all other evils which cause war. The devoted workers who have kept this paper going in spite of the difficulties caused by reactionary forces deserve the gratitude of all decent minded peace loving people.

SIDNEY ELLIOT

Editor of the Daily Herald

I HAVE READ PEACE NEWS regularly during its twenty-one years of life. Although I have not agreed always with its views, I have admired always its fearlessness, its vigour and its high sense of responsibility.

Here's wishing you many more years of active contribution to the good cause of human brotherhood.

SHAUN HERRON

Editor British Weekly

TWENTY-ONE TODAY, but you've had the key of the door for a long time and have gone in and out of the years without fear or favour.

I can't go all the way with you but you're one of the most vital and valuable publications to which the religious community is exposed. May you grow stronger every day, with your courage undaunted, your puncturing of public humbug more resounding and your colour undimmed. In a day of increasing and dreary conformity you do the heart good—and the Lord loves a bonny fighter.

Sir RICHARD ACLAND

GOOD LUCK for your silver jubilee in 1986.

What we said...

OUR FIRST LEADER. June 6, 1936.

Hitherto there has been nothing that provided anything like an adequate linking together of all that mass of peace thought and action, organised and (as perhaps most of it is) unorganised, in every part of the country. There was not the sense of unity of effort which a paper suited to such a popular movement can certainly give. That is why Peace News came into being...

All peace workers and organisations, therefore, should not only take the paper, in order to share in the thoughts and experiences of others in the movement (not to mention the information and other material necessary to their work), but should use the paper to tell the world what they themselves are doing and thinking, and to share with others their propaganda material.

MUNICH. From Peace News, October 8, 1938.

Are we taking to literally Mr. Chamberlain's advice to "sleep quietly" on the ground that "it is peace for our time," regardless of the renewed and more ominous signs of the coming of conscription... and even greater armament?

Are we so blindly full of admiration for Mr. Chamberlain that we quite overlook the fact that he still believes in arms?... [can] it safely be left to those Governments (British, German, Italian) to remove all the causes of war?

WORLD WAR II. From Peace News, September 8, 1939.

... our... primary concern: to work for peace in spite of war, to bear witness to the unity of mankind in the midst of the

most disastrous conflict among men, and to stand firm against the tide of hate that will inevitably rise...

UNCONDITIONAL SURRENDER. From Peace News, March 26, 1943.

... makes nonsense of all high-flown pretensions to be fighting for a world of justice and peace. It implies that for us also Might is Right, not a means to the establishment of right. The sooner we discard the stupid slogan the better—for our reputation, for our success, and for our relations with Russia.

HIROSHIMA. From Peace News, August 10, 1945.

In realising one of their dreams, scientists have made more horrible the nightmare of humanity. The production of the atom-bomb is going to have unpredictable and revolutionary consequences... The power of the atom-bomb allied to the robot-weapon is one that comes immediately to the layman's mind.

Can mind take control of this new form of energy and turn it to the service of life? Unless it can, human life at a civilised level lies under the dark shadow of a threatened self-destruction.

KOREA. From Peace News, July 7, 1950.

Would we then say that the South Koreans should not be defended and freed? Yes, that is what we are bound to say, so long as the method used for their "liberation" is war. Non-violent resistance, as Gandhi would assert, if he were alive today, is the only practical politics, in this as in all similar situations.

Messages to Peace News

HUMPHREY S. MOORE

Founding editor of Peace News

ANNIVERSARIES have never meant very much to me because each day—in your case each week—is a new beginning to life, or at least a new opportunity to improve on the days that have gone before. The Twenty-first in particular has less meaning for a newspaper than for a person, since no newspaper could exist unless, long before that, it possessed and justified full rights and responsibilities. This you have done very notably for many years, and it is my birthday wish that you may go on doing so for many, many more with ever growing distinction and usefulness. God bless you and your editor and all (repeat *all*) on whom you and he depend for your success.

EMRYS HUGHES, MP

I HAVE READ PEACE NEWS ever since the beginning. As the only pacifist weekly it performs an invaluable service in constantly exposing the futility of armed force as a solution for international problems and advocating a constructive peace policy as an alternative to war and the arms race.

Peace News has always given those of us who oppose armaments and war policies in the House of Commons consistent and encouraging support.

I always find the struggling crusading papers with small circulations the most stimulating and interesting.

Peace News is needed more than ever if we are to end the nightmare thought of war in the nuclear age.

LAURENCE HOUSMAN

I FEEL VERY DEEPLY the responsibility which we share with America of having been the first Power to drop bombs on the helpless populations of Hiroshima and Nagasaki when Japan, recognising her defeat, had sued for terms of surrender.

They were refused to her, and we started the savage and indefensible race which has gone on increasingly ever since, in the direction of world destruction, with which all nations alike are now faced. I feel that we should put that fact in the forefront of our propaganda for peace, and against all forms of nuclear warfare which will be the common feature of all future wars of nation against nation.

It is a striking fact that the man who has made the most incontrovertible statement on this matter is Bertrand Russell, the atheist and freethinker, who saw more clearly than any so-called Christian power the end to which this form of warfare inevitably led. For his fearless statement, years ago, he accepted imprisonment, and was deprived of his University Professorship.

I do not think that the English or American people are, even now, aware of our leading responsibility for having started this race toward world destruction. I hope Peace News will do its best to bring this fact home to the consciences of all Englishmen throughout the world.

REGINALD REYNOLDS

I DON'T REALLY HOLD WITH SELF-CONGRATULATION, though no more immune than the next fellow to its temptations. The truth about "us" is that we

have had our ups and downs in every sense. Quite apart from circulation and financial things that I don't really understand, we have produced a paper of which I've often been proud, especially in recent years. But it wouldn't be honest to say that without adding that there have been times, in the past, when I've felt very much the other way and destroyed my copy of PN quickly for fear a non-pacifist might find it and come to wrong conclusions about pacifism.

If there is to be any congratulating I think it should be of you and your hard-working staff for having made the paper what it is today—and (of course) of people like B. J. Boothroyd, who really made your achievement possible. And of the people who sell the paper, bless them, and the people who always, somehow, save us from financial crises just in time. And then a nice word for Humphrey Moore, who started the paper, which was a tremendous venture of faith, for which we can't thank him enough.

But I do hope we are to start the next 21 years in a spirit of self-criticism. Lack of it has been the greatest weakness in our movement, which has been far too prone to purring with satisfaction in itself, its leaders, its policy and so on.

So I wish you lots of good pacifist *kicks* in the coming years because (unless you are perfect, which is improbable) you are likely to be in as much need of occasional shock tactics as the rest of us, God help us. Pacifism is closely connected with freedom—and you know what the price of freedom is said to be.

JEAN van LIERDE

Belgian War Resister

IF THE YOUNGER GENERATION confronts with so much enthusiasm the implacable requirements of the fight of today it is due to the example of the elder generation. The French fighters have always regretted that they have not a paper like Peace News which, with so much verve and circumspection, fights for our ideas.

As a Catholic CO and militant Socialist who also works in close contact with French and Belgian anti-militarists and pacifists I see hopeful signs in the way we are influencing public opinion. You must not forget that the democratic traditions of our countries where patriotic chauvinism and militarism are very strong do not pay so much attention to the liberty of conscience as with you.

For several years past hundreds of COs have been imprisoned by military tribunals, and whilst the situation in France is cruel it is more humanised in Belgium. Protestants and Catholics work together in the economic, political, scientific and cultural fields to oppose the military spirit and we protested strongly against the wars in Indo-China, Algeria, Suez, against the rearmament of Germany, against the atomic danger, etc., etc.

To further our cause we have founded in Brussels the journal "Route de Paix" (Way of Peace) appealing to the Catholics, who to a great extent still believe in "a just war" and are blind to progress. We are pleased to say that we see progress is being made.

We have been anxious to make you acquainted with what we are doing here and wish you all success.

GENTILITY WILL SAVE US

"I gotta Bomb, you gotta Bomb,
All God's chillun gonna have Bombs.
Allelujah."

—Old NATO Spiritual.

IT has been stated on reliable authority that you can do anything with bayonets except sit on them.

I do not accept that assertion as axiomatic. Some people, I believe, can, and for all I know actually do, sit on bayonets. I have no doubt, for instance, that certain Indian fakirs, rising from their bed of nails, sit down to breakfast on the point of a bayonet.

Such a custom is not beyond my comprehension, for in the course of my travels among a similarly masochistic people, the British, I have often slept, or tried to, on beds between which and an open crate of bayonets there was little to choose from the standpoint of comfort.

Be that as it may, the fact remains that, as the word "anything" in the aforesaid quotation implies, bayonets can be used for other purposes than killing. Their usefulness as tin openers, for example, has been proved in two world wars.

I RAISE this matter because we have entered upon a period in which the purpose of weapons is no longer to wage war but to prevent it.

This being so, one would have thought that, in order to avoid uneconomical waste of material, governments would seek to produce a type of weapon which, like the bayonet, could be used for peaceful purposes while at the same time fulfilling its function as a war deterrent.

They have in fact done the opposite. The H-bomb, we are informed, can only defend us so long as it is left completely alone. Once it is used, our own annihilation will follow automatically.

But why, you ask, should Britain, of all countries, want the Bomb, since on a small island we can least afford to provoke attack?

The reason is not far to seek. There is one thing which the democratic British people hold dearer than security—class distinctions.

The Bomb is the sign and prerogative of the highest international rank: the Great Power. Without it we should sink to the

by Owlglass

level of a second-rate or middle-class Power. It signifies an aloofness from the common ruck, like the only aspidochelone in the street.

Further, the Bomb is, by its very nature, a fitting emblem of respectability, for it is born to a life of non-productive inactivity. Like the Perfect Gentleman, it costs a deuce of a lot to turn out and does no work.

NEVERTHELESS, the situation is more hopeful than you realise. It may surprise you to know that those of you who want Britain to give a lead by abandoning the Bomb are likely to see your wish fulfilled.

But not for the reason you think. Britain will discard the Bomb for the very reason which compelled her to adopt it—her insistence on class distinctions.

Permit me to substantiate this argument. It is an essential item in the code of polite society that as soon as any form of property spreads to the common herd, respectable people must regard it as vulgar and discard it.

Observe for example the decline of television in social status. Starting as an expensive luxury, it is now a common object in the humblest homes. With the result that recently an advert in The Observer, describing a house for sale in the West End, mentioned the absence of TV aerials on the sky-line as proof of the exclusiveness of the neighbourhood.

Bear in mind also that, ever since the French liquidated their aristocracy, it has been the divinely ordained mission of England to set the world an example of gentility.

AGREED? Right. Now, the outstanding feature of the present stage in world history is the Turning of the Worm. Everywhere we look we see the underdog sliding out from under. The lower orders are becoming indistinguishable from their betters in habits, costume and education, and subject races are demanding self-government.

The world is in the grip of an irrepressible urge to Equality. (Liberty and Fraternity will follow later. The Age of Aquarius is due to arrive at AD 3000 and is running on time.)

You see where all this is leading? Any moment now second, third, fourth and fifth-rate nations, eager to show they're as good as anybody, will insist on having Bombs of their own.

The result is a foregone conclusion. As soon as the British Government finds that all the niggers, dagoes, wops, chinks and the rest of the vulgar crowd have an H-bomb, it will dump ours in the sea under cover of darkness and tell the world we wouldn't be seen dead with one.

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(BLOCK LETTERS PLEASE)

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New chapter on defence

From Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall.

MY friend Lord Altrincham like many other intelligent people has misunderstood the nature of my proposal. I am only asking that a Royal Commission be set up to consider whether or not non-violent resistance is a better or worse strategy of defence than our present reliance on the potentialities of a weapon (the H-bomb) which if used would lead to the destruction of what we are trying to defend.

We have not reached the stage of giving evidence to the Royal Commission but if we get as far as that Lord Altrincham will have to think up some better arguments against non-violent resistance than those he quotes which I will undertake to sink without trace next time we meet!

Conventional thinkers on defence, i.e. those who appear to be incapable of even speculating as to whether there may be an alternative to armed resistance, are bogged down in a series of deep dilemmas.

I will quote one: if the deterrent is to deter is it not advisable that the potential enemy should know what is going to hit him? Why then are not Russian observers given every facility to observe our H-bomb tests? If the idea is to leave it to their imaginations is there not a danger that they may be wooden headed enough to fail to picture the full horror of what we can inflict on them?

Here is another awkward question: when the inter-continental missile is perfected (? 1960-1961) the time of flight, Leningrad to London will be 15 minutes. Assume we have five minutes warning, who presses the button at our end? The Prime Minister? This would be very unconstitutional and in any case the PM might be incinerated before he got the message that Russian H-bombs were en route.

When the Minister of Defence announced that the UK was no longer defensible against nuclear attack, he closed a chapter in our island history which began with our failure to prevent Julius Caesar raiding us in BC55 and ended with our victory in the Battle of Britain in 1940.

The V2 was the writing on the wall.

We must open a new chapter and I want a Royal Commission to consider what should be written in it under the heading Defence—STEPHEN KING-HALL, The Penthouse, 162 Buckingham Palace Rd., London, S.W.1.

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LETTERS

No more Hiroshimas

YOUR Government has brushed aside our appeals and the strong opposition of world opinion, and has finally carried out its H-bomb test in the Pacific. The news shocked our people over here.

Immediately, a group of 50 students staged a protest demonstration and hunger strikes in front of the British Embassy at Tokyo. And yesterday Japanese university students throughout the country launched a strike against the British H-bomb test. Some 350,000 students at 168 universities in 63 cities held protest meetings within the campus during the morning hours. In the afternoon, similar rallies as well as demonstrations were held outside the school premises.

In Tokyo, a central meeting was attended by 15,000 students. A protest rally at Hibiya Park was followed by a huge demonstration parade to the British Embassy. Also, yesterday many students of University of Hiroshima launched a hunger strike in appealing: NO MORE HIROSHIMAS!

As a teacher, I fully support my students' movement speaking out for peace. Also, as a Japanese citizen, I express my sincere gratitude to many, many peace-loving Britons like Mr. H. Steele.

Dear Friends! We don't appeal to you only for the sake of ourselves, but for the sake of your own people. I can assure you Britain will never lose, but will surely win the respect of the whole world, by the stoppage of the scheduled tests. Now is the time to negotiate with the United States and Soviet Union to put an immediate outright ban on the test and manufacture of A- and H-weapons.—SHINGO SHIBATA, Assistant Professor, Hosei University, Fujimi-cho, Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo, Japan.

Mothers and the H-tests

AS the mother of three young children, I am appalled by the complete indifference of politicians to the public feeling about the H-bomb tests.

If our children, and those of future generations, are not to suffer irreparably it seems imperative that the women of the world must get together now and act.

Never mind the party or the church one may belong to; this hidden danger threatens every child and should, therefore, unite us.

All scientists agree that the fall-out of Strontium 90 goes on for years after an H-bomb is exploded, and that this dangerous element is absorbed via grass and cows into milk. Therein lies the chief danger to our children.

Even while tests are going on, scientists are arguing about the safety level of contamination. In fact, it appears that there is no real safety level and that some children are susceptible to doses well within this so-called safety level.

Conscious of this terrible danger, I myself have stopped my children's school milk and have reduced their other milk intake to a bare minimum.

Among other things, mothers should keep a silent daily vigil outside the House of Commons to remind MPs of their terrible responsibility—and they should do so in their hundreds. Those living within reach of London should allocate a few hours per week to this task, and the example they would set and the silent reproach they would offer to those responsible must bear fruit. Those living too far away could help sustain the more active ones by their prayers.—JUNE LOVERSEED, 63 Wilberforce Road, London, N.4.

Children and art

CHILDREN live, to a large extent, in a world of their own imagination and their own choosing. Their larger adult outlook will grow out of childhood enthusiasms.

We must therefore consider carefully, to say the least, the conclusions arrived at from a survey by Messrs. W. H. Smith and Sons and Harrap (Publishers), reported in the News Chronicle, May 18:

Boys of all types—public school to secondary modern—put war books at the top of their "favourite reading" lists.

Most popular first choice of girls is adventure.

Second choice for all girls and for boys in public and grammar schools is crime and detection. But boys in secondary modern schools say their second favourite subject is sport.

The investigators also found that: Schoolchildren show "surprisingly little interest" in space fiction.

Is the trend here entirely towards blood-thirsty violence? Is the child who is now interested in war, sport and adventure, inevitably to turn into an adult preoccupied with war, crime and sex? At which point do interest in music, art and "creative" science germinate?

To answer these questions I think we must accept that most adults combine within themselves creative (peaceful) and destructive (warlike) instincts, which in natural activity often alternate.

The artist works all day but may enjoy watching a war film or a boxing match in the evening. It is difficult to deny him this, because so few people can and will dedicate themselves entirely to peace.

The Italian Renaissance is often held up as a model of peaceful activity in painting, sculpture and architecture. But when we read Benvenuto Cellini's autobiography we realise two things. Firstly, those who created the beauty of the Renaissance were fully as capable of skulduggery as any modern teddy boy, and secondly we find that enthusiasm for creative artistic activity was widespread.

The Italian-in-the-street was interested in painting, sculpture and architecture, and looked out for his favourite's "latest." He was also interested in street-gang warfare and other things.

How did the creative side of his enthusiasms come about? We know that the destructive side needs no artificial aid, but must we assume that the creative side was artificially stimulated by the artists themselves? The artists of today have lost their touch of leadership and we now rely on the Arts Council and other bodies to keep contact with the public.

This is not enough, but does it concern the peace movement? Britain has produced many leaders in the peace movement but it certainly does not lead in modern art and architecture.

Active peace is not a matter of religion and politics alone. Creative-minded groups are at present like a game of "heads, bodies and legs"—they need joining up.

JOHN WESTWOOD.

Ghana and South Africa

IN the light of statements appearing in the Press and elsewhere on my submission to the Prime Minister of Ghana of a memorandum on South Africa, I wish to say that in reporting that the Prime Minister was setting up a committee to study this memorandum I misunderstood Dr. Nkrumah who meant only that he would pass it to some of his colleagues for informal consideration.—MICHAEL SCOTT, Hon. Director, The Africa Bureau, 65 Denison House, 296 Vauxhall Bridge Road, London, S.W.1.

PPU RELIGION COMMISSION

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As this is a free service we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Mon. 11 a.m.
2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

Saturday, June 8

EPSOM: 7 p.m. Film, "Shadow of Hiroshima," 7.30 p.m. Speeches by John Loverseed, AFC, and C. D. Legon, BA. Questions. Discussion. Proposal of resolution of protest against nuclear warfare and A-bomb tests. 9 p.m. Film, "Shadow of Hiroshima," Myers Hall (behind Ebbisham Hall), Ashley Rd. Epsom and District Peace Fellowship, Secretary: Ailsa Duncan, 55 Culverhay, Ashted, Surrey.

SOUTHEND-ON-SEA: All-Day Film Show, from 10 a.m. to 10 p.m., "The Shadow of Hiroshima" interspersed with speakers. Demonstration Poster Parades—Labour Hall, Boston Avenue, Southend Peace Council.

Sunday, June 9

HYDE PARK: 6.30 p.m. Sybil Morrison will speak supported by the Pacifist Youth Action Group.

LONDON, W.C.1: 3.30 p.m. Friends International Centre, 32 Tavistock Square, Euston. Pacifist Universalist Service. Discourse by Swami Avyaktananda "Theory and Practice of Spiritual Communism."

Wednesday, June 12

LONDON, S.W.4: 8 p.m.: Labour Party HQ Clapham Common (27 Clapham Park Road). Stuart Morris, "The Purpose of the PPU." Clapham and District Group.

Thursday, June 13

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m. Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street. Speaker from the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. PYAG.

TWICKENHAM: 8 p.m. York House, Richmond Road. "H-bomb Tests." Professor Dame Kathleen Lonsdale, DBE, FRS, DSc, and others. Film "Shadow of Hiroshima." National Council for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapon Tests.

TUNBRIDGE WELLS: 2 p.m. and hourly till 8 p.m. also at 8.30 p.m. A film "The Shadow of Hiroshima" at the Lecture Hall, Tunbridge Wells Library. Society of Friends.

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Bush Road (near Green Man), Eric Baker. E.10 and E.11 PPU Group.

Friday, June 14

LONDON, BOWES PARK, N.W.8: 8 p.m.: Bowes Park Methodist Church, Bowes Road, N.13. Arlo Tatum, Secretary of War Resisters' International, "International Peacemaking." Methodist Peace Fellowship.

Monday, June 17

NORTHFLEET: 8 p.m.: The Manse, Dene Holm Road. Gravesend For Meeting.

Tuesday, June 18

BRIGHTON: 7.30 p.m. Friends Centre, Ship Street. Film "Shadow of Hiroshima." H-bomb Meeting led by Rev. John Rowlands, BSc, UNA, SoF and PPU.

Thursday, June 20

ASH VALE: 7.30 p.m.: "Longhope." Hutton Road. Mr. Goldsmith on "Why I am not a Pacifist." Alton PPU Group Meeting.

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Bush Road (near Green Man). Ray Harris on Children's Books and Reading. E.10 and E.11 PPU Group.

ROCHESTER: 7.30 p.m. at 24 Blaker Avenue. Geoff. Hemmings "Quaker Relief in Korea." For.

Thursday, June 27

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Bush Road (near Green Man). Group Discussion. E.10 and E.11 PPU Group.

Friday, June 28

RUGBY: 7.30 p.m. Brotherhood House. Public Meeting: "A Realistic Defence Policy." Speakers: Sybil Morrison, Victor Yates, MP. Chairman: Councillor W. A. Manning, JP. PPU.

Sunday, June 30

LEYTONSTONE: 3 p.m. Friends House, Bush Road. E.11. Annual Garden Meeting. Eileen Fletcher on "Kenya." Tea 5 p.m. Concert. Contributions to refreshments welcomed. E.10/E.11 PPU.

Thursday, July 4

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Bush Road (near Green Man). Donald Groom "Non-violent revolution in rural India." E.10 and E.11 PPU Group.

Saturday, July 6

ROCHESTER: 3 p.m. at West Winds, Blue Bell Hill. Edith Adlam—"A Visit to Tashkent." For.

Saturday, July 13

ALTON: 3 p.m.: "Hill crest." Windmill Hill. Southern Area PPU Committee Meeting.

Every week!

SATURDAYS

LIVERPOOL: 8 p.m.: Pier Head. Open-air meeting of Liverpool and District Peace Board.

SUNDAYS

HYDE PARK: 6.30 p.m.: Pacifist Youth Action Group. Every Sunday. PYAG.

SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS

LONDON: Weekends Workcamps, cleaning and redecorating the homes of old-age pensioners. IVSP, 72 Oakley Sq., London, N.W.1.

MONDAYS

SHIPLEY: 7.15 p.m.: Shipley Group in new premises in Labour Party Rooms, Westgate, Shipley.

TUESDAYS

MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m.: Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian pacifist open-air mtg. Local Methodist ministers and others. MPF.

WEDNESDAYS

KIDBROOKE: 8 p.m.: 141 Woolacombe Rd. Talks, plays, discussion, music, radio, etc. Fellowship Party.

THURSDAYS

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.: Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Road. E.10 and E.11 Group. PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.: Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. PYAG.

LONDON, W.C.1: 1.20-1.40 p.m.: Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen Sq., Southampton Row. Weekly lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by Clergy and laymen of different denominations.

A philosopher who went to prison

ROBERT GREACEN reviews

Bertrand Russell: The Passionate Sceptic, by Alan Wood, Allen and Unwin, 21s.

"I WANT to stand at the rim of the world," wrote Bertrand Russell in a letter from Brixton Prison in 1918, "and peer into the darkness beyond, and see a little more than others have seen, of the strange shapes of mystery that inhabit that unknown night..."

Russell was sent to prison as the result of an unsigned article he wrote for "The Tribunal," the weekly organ of the No Conscription Fellowship. He had suggested in it that the US forces then in Europe would be used after the war for strike-breaking in England, just as they had been used for that purpose in their own country. For that suggestion he did six months' "time."

Why did Russell cease to be a pacifist in World War II? The unworthy whisper has been that he was over military age by that time. That reason is quite wrong, of course, he was over military age during the 1914-18 conflict.

Just as he continually shifted his position as an academic philosopher in the light of what he regarded as new developments in his thinking, so he genuinely believed it was wrong to fight the Kaiser's Germany and right to fight Hitler's.

In any case, Russell never said that war was morally wrong under any circumstances. For him, as Mr. Wood reminds us, "good"

and "bad" are "merely expressed subjective likes and dislikes."

Nevertheless Russell has had a certain consistency of purpose in opposing cruelty, intolerance and injustice. He has not failed, for instance, to warn mankind of the peril of the H-bomb, as in his 1954 broadcast:

"I appeal to you as a human being to human beings: remember your humanity, and forget the rest."

Mr. Wood has outlined, with the zest of a disciple, the main events and ideas in the life of a truly remarkable man. There are chapters setting forth Russell's views on international affairs, pacifism, marriage and education; details of his travels in Germany, Russia, China and Australia; the philosopher's experiences in running an advanced school in England, and his dismissal from Trinity College, Cambridge, during World War I, and from a New York Professorship in 1940.

The text, enlivened by a great many witty stories, is intended for a general public, although Mr. Wood gives one some idea of the essentials of Russell's contribution to philosophy and mathematics.

Mr. Wood's volume may be recommended to those who are interested in the workings of a great mind—and a frank, courageous mind too—and the way it has reacted to human experience.

RENDER UNTO CEASAR...

Rev. Lewis MacLachlan reviews

The State in the New Testament, by Oscar Cullmann, SCM Press, 12s. 6d.

IN every age the relation of Church to State, of religion to government, of liberty to order, has been a testing problem. For the pacifist the attitude of the individual to the State is of special interest, for it is often on the ground of his alleged disloyalty to the nation that he is condemned. Yet the highest patriotism can find expres-

sion in the refusal of the State's demands. In this very interesting and readable book Professor Cullmann examines the Christian contribution to the solution of this problem both in the attitude of Jesus to the resistance movement in Galilee, and in the Pauline and Johannine doctrine. The State, he con-

cludes, is even unwittingly the servant of God, and this demands the obedience of the Christian; but the State which ceases to be the servant of God and attempts to act as if it were God itself becomes anti-Christ. When Caesar requires the things that belong to God he must be refused.

The author looks into the Gospel narrative with keen insight and affords an illuminating commentary on the events which led up to the crucifixion. The Church universal has always believed that the salvation of mankind is somehow bound up with the significance of the death of Jesus. It is of the utmost importance therefore to know why Jesus died. Professor Cullmann has something to say on this which is of intense interest to the pacifist. The appendix on the meaning of "the powers that be" in Romans xiii.1, goes far to deprive the opponents of pacifism of any basis for one hitherto popular argument.

BOOKS

MPs reconsider armaments

From DENIS BRIAN

AT a Labour Peace Fellowship meeting held in London on "The Only Way to Peace," Reg Moss, MP, spoke of the need for Britain to use more of her resources to help the underdeveloped countries. He pointed out that Britain was spending a fantastic amount on armaments, and only a small sum was available to help the deprived peoples, particularly in Africa and Asia.

Frank Allaun, MP, stated that he had been surprised that so many Labour MPs who had never before expressed pacifist sentiments, had now come to the conclusion that Britain must reconsider her reliance on armaments in the future, and the statement of Stephen King-Hall had made a deep impression on them.

He urged the Labour Party to come out boldly against the H-bomb tests, and launch a campaign in the same way that the Party did over the Suez issue, which had such a tremendous response in all parts of the country.

James Hudson spoke of the fallacy of defence, and that the White Paper (on

defence) had admitted the inability of the armed services to defend Britain. He appealed to the audience to be more forthright in their opposition to war and the preparations for war, in the same way that George Lansbury and Keir Hardie did in the past.

Victor Yates, MP, in the chair, appealed for pacifist members of the Labour Party and its affiliated organisations to come into the Labour Peace Fellowship, so that it could be more effective in influencing Party policy. He appealed, as did the other speakers, to keep the issues of peace always in the forefront of discussions in local Labour Party meetings.

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MEETING
"POLAND." A talk by Mrs. Olga Judson on her recent visit. Wednesday, June 12, 7.30 p.m. Friends International Centre, 32 Tavistock Square, London, W.C.1. The Third Way. All welcome.

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Scientists' appeal

★ FROM PAGE ONE

"We have in common with our fellow men a deep concern for the welfare of all human beings. As scientists we have knowledge of the dangers involved and therefore a special responsibility to make those dangers known. We deem it imperative that immediate action be taken to effect an international agreement to stop the testing of all nuclear weapons."

RENOUNCE THE BOMB

—Bishop of Manchester

THROUGHOUT Britain the campaign for the stopping of H-bomb tests is increasing in intensity, with a growing emphasis on the complete renunciation of atomic warfare.

In London last Sunday over 700 black-sash men, women and children marched through crowded streets from Hyde Park, through the West End, down Whitehall to the Embankment.

In the North of England the Bishop of Manchester, Dr. Greer, has appealed for the renunciation of the hydrogen bomb by Britain, declaring that it would be "better to be defeated than engage in H-bomb warfare." A fuller report of his speech will appear in Peace News next week.

The Manchester United Peace Fellowship are continuing their "Stop H-test" demonstrations with a further poster parade on Saturday, June 15, starting from the Friends Meeting House in Mount Street at 2.30 p.m.

In Eastbourne, Sussex, a Presbyterian minister, a Wesleyan minister, a Quaker and a layman purchased space in the Eastbourne Gazette in which to reproduce almost the whole of Dr. Albert Schweitzer's broadcast appeal.

"This has already had the effect of stirring up many of the local clergy to action," Mrs. Margaret Bayley, a member of the Congregational Pacifist Fellowship, told Peace News this week.

A cartoon warned readers that "Humanity is at the threshold of many miracles. Have we the sense to 'eschew evil, do good'? Think on these things."

Other H-protests

In Hampstead, London, the Co-operative Party is holding an "Open Press Conference" on the H-bomb, at which famous journalists will interview an atomic scientist in the Town Hall on Tuesday, June 11, at 8 p.m.

In Cambridge and in Salisbury stalls in the market squares have been the scenes of animated discussion and debate.

All over the country local Councils for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapon Tests are being set up.

In Hackney (East London) a deputation of Trade Unionists called on the Rector to thank him for his outspoken support of the local campaign. Replying, the Rector said he could do no better than to quote the words of the Bishop of Manchester reported above.

A poster march organised by Cardiff Pacifist Group drew 70 supporters at short notice last Saturday.

In Tottenham the local Peace Pledge Union Group, the Labour Party and other organisations showed the film "Shadow Of Hiroshima" to a meeting addressed by Mrs. Joyce Butler, MP.

Reports of meetings in Salisbury, Whitestable, Bristol and other towns will appear in Peace News next week.

NEXT WEEK

COUNT MICHAEL DE LA BEDOYERE

Editor, the Catholic Herald

HENRY USBORNE, MP

Hon. Sec., Parliamentary Group for World Government

Write in Peace News on Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall's proposal for a Royal Commission on UNARMED DEFENCE

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By Sybil Morrison

THE PRIOR CONDITION

... control and inspection. This is where agreement must begin. ... for her own reasons Britain is reducing her conventional forces ... but this is not by way of disarming, but by way of seeking greater armed strength in nuclear and counter-nuclear power ... It is futile to expect either Russia or the Western countries to consent to ... real reductions in their national strength unless they have reliable guarantees that the other parties are carrying out their bargain ... The essential prior condition is still lacking—mutual trust."

IT is seldom that a leading article in the Sunday Times enunciates the truth with such fearlessness.

To admit that the abandonment of so-called "conventional forces," which includes conscription, is not really disarmament at all, is going further than many Government spokesmen, and a great deal further than most other newspapers.

Moreover, to concede that it is futile to expect from Russia something not to be expected from the Western Powers is very unusual from a newspaper that normally supports the continued Government contention that it is Russia which stands in the way of an agreement on control and inspection.

The outstanding omission in this otherwise clear and honest statement of the situation as seen through Governmental eyes, is that no proposal, other than "reliable guarantees" is made in regard to the achievement of that essential condition "mutual trust."

No one would disagree that "mutual trust" is a basic need, but "reliable guarantees" are not to be equated with "mutual trust." The word "trust" is not synonymous with the word "guarantee"; trust is a reliance not upon signed guarantees, but upon honesty, not upon written contracts, but upon confidence.

★

Confidence has not been engendered by the attempts to discover at the "Summit" talks, the meeting of Foreign Ministers, and the Disarmament Commission, some means of control and inspection of nuclear weapons.

It is well known that the H-bomb stockpiles will not deteriorate with time, and can be successfully concealed from any kind of above-ground inspection.

No amount of "open skies" surveyance, nor agreed inspection of particular zones can guarantee that those nations who possess the H-bomb may not have, somewhere, a secret hoard.

It is also well known that, in the event of any so-called emergency, it would be perfectly possible to manufacture the weapons wherever there are atomic power

Thousands see PPU Harrow demonstration

THOUSANDS of people watched a two hundred-yard-long pacifist poster parade as it moved through the densely crowded streets of Harrow last Saturday. At its conclusion a lively open-air meeting heard Sybil Morrison and Stuart Morris, of the Peace Pledge Union, argue the case for unilateral disarmament.

The campaign continued after tea when the Harrow Friends Meeting House was full to capacity for a Brains Trust, with PPU Campaign Organiser Sybil Morrison as Question Master, and Professor Kathleen Lonsdale, Stuart Morris, the Rev. Owen Butler, of Harrow Congregational Church, and Owen Taylor, of Friends, making up the panel.

The Peace Pledge Union is ready to help groups in other areas to organise similar one-day campaigns. Enquiries should be sent to Sybil Morrison, PPU Campaign Committee, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1. H. F. M.

Stop H-test petition

COPIES of the Fellowship Party's anti-H-test petition may be obtained from: London: 113 New Park Ave., N.13; 6 Corney Rd., W.4; 11 Brazil Rd., N.21; Dr. Whittington, 8 St. Georges Drive, S.W.1; 144 Muswell Hill Rd., N.10; 63 Wilberforce Rd., N.4; 141 Woolacombe Rd., S.E.23; 25 Mervyn Ave., S.E.9. St. Albans: Mrs. Corry, 16 Selby Ave. Hull: 22 Barrington Ave. Peterborough: 200 Eastfield Rd.

stations in existence, and in quite a short space of time.

So long as the nations of the world are equipped with this knowledge, are unwilling to consider anything other than limitation by agreement, and are afraid of unprovoked attack, there is no possibility of achieving that "essential prior condition" to disarmament.

It is clear that there is only one way, and that is not a way that the people of this country can demand from the people of some other country; it is a way that can only be taken by themselves—the way of unilateral disarmament.

To say that we, in this country will stop testing the H-bomb and will not continue to manufacture H-bombs would not prove to other nations that we were not, in fact, concealing a stockpile, nor that we were prepared to forgo their use under any circumstances.

★

Mutual trust is not gained by an exchange of promises that have to be supported by all sorts of guarantees to insure that the promises will not be broken. Such proceedings have nothing whatever to do with trust.

If Britain cannot trust other countries then the time has surely come to show those other countries the true meaning of trust; to trust, not in promises, but in the moral strength of doing right.

The only way is a forthright denunciation of war itself; a declaration that we no longer intend to rely upon war, and so, without waiting for other nations are proceeding to disarm.

Disarmed we shall court no suspicion; disarmed we shall no longer be a threat to other countries; disarmed we may stand alone, but undismayed, because an unarmed Britain can give the only certain guarantee that she can be trusted. This would be the real first step towards that essential prior condition upon which peace depends.

MIKARDO

FROM PAGE ONE

seeks to have answered by his proposed Royal Commission enquiry into the practicability of a defence policy based on non-violent resistance instead of a suicide threat.

Sir Stephen's suggestion deserves active support. But I don't want an enquiry by a body which is appointed, goes to ground, and surfaces five years later with a report that has become outdated while it's being printed. I want an enquiry by an authoritative body sitting continuously and taking its evidence, or at least most of it, in public, with a long Press-table and a large public gallery.

At best such an enquiry might save this country and the world. And at the very least, if we are implacably determined on suicide, it would at least ensure that our suicide was deliberate and not just absent-minded.

IAN MIKARDO, MP, represented Reading in 1945-50, and since 1950 has represented Reading South in the House of Commons. He has been a member of the National Executive Committee of the Labour Party since 1953. He is a member of the Executive of the Fabian Society, and the Executive of the Association of Supervisory Staffs, Executives and Technicians.

Born in 1908, he was educated at Portsmouth Municipal College. He is an industrial consultant and journalist. He is a non-pacifist.

His publications include: "Centralised Control of Industry," "Frontiers in the Air," (with others) "Keep Left," "The Second Five Years," "The Problems of Nationalisation," (joint) "Keeping Left," "The Labour Case," "It's a Mug's Game."

GERMAN COs

The interviews with German conscientious objectors will appear next week.

Let's have a Royal Commission

● FROM PAGE FIVE

minority are convinced that it is right and useful but most people have never even heard of it. Commander King-Hall's proposal of a Royal Commission to investigate and advise on non-violent resistance as an alternative to military force provides a wonderful opportunity to spread the gospel of non-violence and there should therefore be widespread support for an enquiry.

It is difficult to resist a public enquiry without being open to the charge that the opposition arises from fear of what the Royal Commission might recommend.

Of course, the Government will resist the appointment of a Royal Commission on non-violent resistance. They will say it would be expensive. It is true that it might cost, say £150,000. Not very much compared with the cost of one bomber.

But their opposition would be really based largely on conservatism. After all, non-violent resistance is a very novel proposal so far as the ordinary politician is concerned.

I hope, therefore, that with Commander King-Hall a committee for a Royal Commission on non-violent resistance will be formed with as many organisations as possible supporting it. Otherwise the National Peace Council could campaign for it.

But the campaign should not be a predominantly pacifist movement, although without the steady and active support of as many societies as possible, the campaign cannot succeed.

Finally, as Barbara Wootton said, Royal Commissions vary greatly in quality. A Commission, such as the Royal Commission on licensing in the 1930's composed largely of representatives of interested parties with their minds already made up, was relatively useless.

TERMS OF REFERENCE

The members of a Commission must be as detached and impartial as possible. Clearly a committee of the Imperial Defence College would not be likely to fulfill this requirement.

An ad hoc public enquiry arranged by Commander King-Hall would be better than no enquiry at all but would not have the weight with the public which a Royal Commission would. But it should certainly be tried if the campaign for a Commission fails. The Reichstag fire enquiry in the 1930's is a precedent.

Another danger when a Commission is appointed is that it may have a Chairman and members who are mediocre. It is difficult to guard against this but the advocates of a Royal Commission on non-violence should draw up lists of possible members of the Commission and also draft its terms of reference.

Two recent Commissions with an excellent membership were those on Population and Capital Punishment. The Royal Commission on Marriage and Divorce was a sorry contrast.

A Royal Commission would not be at all easy to get but the campaign for it would be well worth while and if obtained Her Majesty's Stationery Office would publish the whole of the evidence for non-violent resistance free of charge!

P.N. STAFF

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